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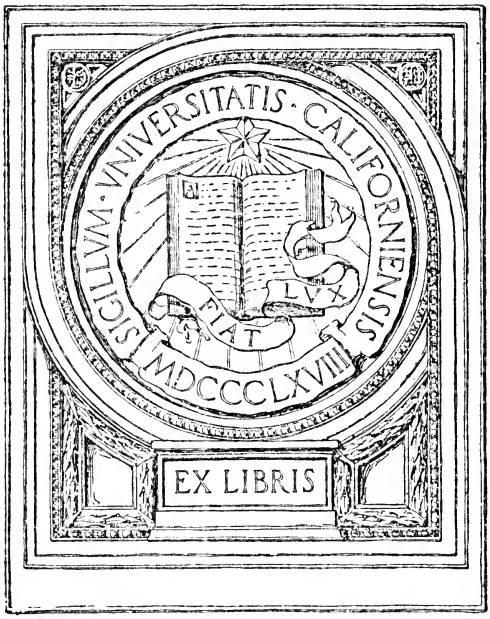

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SPECIMEN CHAPTERS

OF

AN ASSYRIAN GRAMMAR.

BY

THE REV. E. HINCKS, D.D.,

HON. M. R. A. S.

DECEMBER, 1866.]

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SPECIMEN CHAPTERS
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AN ASSYRIAN GRAMMAR.

By the Rev. E. HINCKS, D.D.,
Hon. M. R. A. S.

A great number of years have now elapsed since I began to collect materials for an Assyrian grammar; an object, of which I have never since lost sight. Of late, I have been preparing my materials for publication; but a preliminary question has suggested itself:—"If I were to publish a grammar, who would read it?" The persons for whose instruction I should naturally write would be either persons who were acquainted with other Semitic languages, and who were desirous of comparing the grammars of these with that of the oldest and the best developed language of the family; or else persons, who desired to study this language for its own sake, and who sought the aid of a grammar, in the absence of an oral instructor, to teach them the first principles of this "Sanskrit of the Semitic tongues," which they might afterwards improve upon by their own studies.

I believe that persons of both these classes would derive benefit from such a grammar as I should publish, if they would only make use of it. I fear, however, that no person of either of the classes has so much faith in me, and in my knowledge of Assyrian grammar, as to make use of it. My only readers would probably be my critics;—those, who have attained *some* knowledge of the Assyrian language—considerable knowledge, I may say, so far as respects *the meaning of words*,—but whose published translations show that, as respects *grammar*, their views are extremely different from mine; and, of course, if my views be correct, extremely erroneous. My only readers would thus be, with perhaps one or two exceptions, *hostile* critics, who must condemn what I have written, because, by laying down rules which they have disregarded and violated in their translations, it indirectly condemns those translations.

In the case of one eminent Assyrian writer on the con-

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tinent, the certainty that I should meet with hostile criticism is more obvious than it is in the case of others. Dr. Oppert has published an Assyrian grammar, of which I have already stated that, besides minor errors, it was pervaded by three erroneous general principles, "so as scarcely to leave a page free from what I consider pernicious error." One of these three principles, Dr. Oppert, in a late article in the *Journal Asiatique*, intimates that he has abandoned, or is disposed to abandon. To the other two he clings pertinaciously. Now, as I cannot retract the unfavourable opinion above expressed, and as, according to my views of Assyrian grammar, I cannot think the translations from Sargon, which MM. Oppert and Ménant have published, to be even approximately correct, I could not possibly expect any criticism from those gentlemen but of the most adverse description.

Under these circumstances, I have thought it advisable to deviate materially from my original plan. Instead of publishing an entire grammar, I will, in the first instance, publish specimen-chapters only; treating of the declensions of substantives and adjectives, and of the permansive forms of verbs;—a subject on which Dr. Oppert, in the *Journal Asiatique* for last year (Tome vi. p. 297), has mis-stated both my views and the facts to which he appeals. Instead, too, of stating what I believe to be the grammatical rules of the Assyrian language, dogmatically, as would be the natura course of the writer of a grammar, I will deduce them from those leading positions on which all are agreed, by inductive proofs, in the order which appears to me the best for this purpose; different as this order is from what I should adopt if I were exempt from the necessity of writing otherwise than dogmatically. My examples must be numerous, because they are not merely illustrative, but justificatory. It will readily be understood that where I bring forward a number of proofs in support of any assertion, it is one which is not generally accepted, and is likely to be controverted; but except in the one case of the permansive forms of the verb, which I have already mentioned, I do not mean to point out directly what I believe to be the errors of others. It will answer my end,

and will be pleasanter to myself, if I merely seek to establish the correctness of my own views. This being done, the incorrectness of any views that are inconsistent with them will follow as a matter of course.

A few words should be said here on the principles on which I have conducted my investigations. I have sought the rules of Assyrian grammar by induction from passages, the meaning of which I considered to be perfectly known, occurring in writings of a good age; the induction being guided by a general knowledge of Semitic grammar. I have taken no account of passages, however well their meaning may be known, which are found in texts of a late age, probably written by persons who had a very imperfect knowledge of Assyrian, and of whom it was not the native tongue. Neither have I assumed the identity of Assyrian and Hebrew rules of grammatical construction in cases where there is no inductive evidence of it.

As to the transcriptions of Assyrian words and texts which I give, I think that it is unnecessary to say much. Were I to publish a grammar, it should contain a list of all the characters representing syllables consisting of a single vowel, or a vowel preceded or followed by a consonant, and of all those whose values were syllables consisting of a vowel both preceded and followed by a consonant, and which occurred in any text quoted in the grammar. To each character its transcription should be attached. I represent, as every one else does, ב, ג, ד, ז, כ, ל, מ, נ, פ, ר, and ת, by *b*, *g*, *d*, *z*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, and *t*. I also represent ח by *ḫ*, ט by *ṭ*, ס by *ṣ* (which was anciently sounded either *st*, or *sḳ*; the former being, like שׁ, represented by the Arabic س, the latter by ش, and by the Greek ξ, which occupied the same position in the alphabet, and had the same figure as the Phœnician ס), צ by *ṣ*, ק by *q*, and שׂ by *s*. The remaining five letters, א, ה, ו, י, ע, are indiscriminately transcribed as ʿ with the following exceptions: is transcribed by *ya*; by *ʿu* or *yu*; after another by *ʿa* or *yà*; , when a copulative, by *va*; and by *h* or *ih*. I use the vowel *e* alone to represent ,

è standing for 𒁀. The grave accent over a vowel is not intended to mark a distinction of sound, but to show that a homophone of the character usually representing the syllable without the accent is used in place of that character. I use four vowels in transcriptions, *a*, *i*, *u*, and *e*, which I believe the Assyrians pronounced as long *i*, or *î*. I think that no Assyrian scholar will find any difficulty in restoring the text of my transcriptions; but if he do, he can consult the original text, to which I refer him. To explain my references, I will observe that B. means Botta's plates; L., the first series of British Museum plates, edited by Mr. Layard; I. and II., the two volumes of the second series of British Museum plates, edited by Sir H. Rawlinson. The number which precedes this is the number of the plate in each series, and the number at the end is the line in the plate; with a distinctive mark before it, *if necessary*, the meaning of which will be seen when the plate is referred to. In some of the plates of the second series, I use *r*, *c*, and *l* for right, centre, and left. In these references, and in the transcriptions, I have followed as closely as I could Mr. Norris.

I believe that the main point in which I differ from Mr. Norris in my transcriptions is that I do not attempt to distinguish in most cases between the several breathings and semivowels. I do not think that we can distinguish them by inspection of the Assyrian characters. We can only do so by knowledge derived from some other source. I find, for instance, 𒀀 occurring in four words; between *ma* and *du*, between *na* and *du*, between *ṭa* and *bu*, and between *da* and *nu*. I transcribe it in the four instances by *ʿa*. I happen to know from the Hebrew that in the first word the *ʿa* represents אָ, in the second הָ, in the third ן, and in the fourth יִ; the four words signifying *much* or *great* from מאד, *glorious* from נהד, *good* from טוב, and *a judge* from דין. In another word which had no Hebrew equivalent, I should not know how to render the characters so as to make a distinction; and I therefore do not make it in the cases where I am able to do so. Some persons would in all these instances represent the 𒀀

by accenting the preceding vowel. In most cases, however, I think that this would be an error. Where it is plain to me that two characters represent together but one syllable, I cut off one of the vowels by an apostrophe; but I do not consider it a matter of course to do so, nor do I use an accent in all cases where I do so.

When two syllables are joined together without a point, it will be understood that they are, in the original, not represented phonetically, but by monograms, ideograms, or Accadian roots, as they have been variously called. In such cases I generally give the cuneiform characters in brackets, with *i.e.* after them, before I give the words that I read. When, however, the signification of the monogram is well known and universally admitted, I omit the cuneiform characters.

[Chapter V.] *On Verbs, and first on their permansive parts.*

1. Generally speaking, a verb admits of seven principal conjugations, of which the first six correspond to the first six of the recognized Hebrew conjugations; the seventh being the causative of the third. I denote them by the seven first Roman numerals. Other conjugations are occasionally met with, but are less frequent. It will, of course, be understood that no one verb is used in all the conjugations.

2. Each of these seven admits of a secondary or augmented conjugation, which I denote by the proper Roman numeral followed by t. The augmented conjugation regularly inserts *t* or *te* after the first radical letter, or in the conjugations V.–VII. after the preformative *s*. In some cases the insertion of this letter or syllable is the only difference between the augmented conjugation and its principal one; but in other cases, other changes are introduced which will be mentioned in the sequel.

3. The inserted *t* is sometimes changed into *d* or *ṭ*, through the influence of the letter with which it comes in contact; and sometimes through its influence that letter undergoes a change. Another irregularity, which is apt to be more puzzling, is that in most verbs defective in the second radical

(concave verbs) the dental precedes the first radical in place of following it. Thus, we have from בוא, in the aorist of I. t, *it.bu.ni*, instead of *ib.tu.ni*, "they came on" (90 L. 63).

4. Generally speaking, again, the verbal forms belonging to each conjugation may be divided into two great classes, which I call permansive and mutative. The former denotes continuance in the state which the verb signifies in that conjugation; the latter denotes change into that state. Each portion of the forms belonging to the conjugation has tenses and verbal nouns. The permansive tenses are analogous to the so-called Hebrew preterite, having no preformatives, but having terminations added, (except in the third person singular masculine, which has none, as in Hebrew), by which the number, person, and gender are distinguished. The mutative tenses, on the contrary, are analogous to the so-called Hebrew future, having one or other of the preformatives אִיתָן always prefixed to the root, whether or no there be any distinctive addition at the end.

5. The distinction here made between permansive and mutative forms is in my judgment a fundamental one, on the proper development of which all accurate knowledge of the Assyrian language must depend. Now, Dr. Oppert, has in a recent number of the *Journal Asiatique* (Tome vi. p. 297), ridiculed the existence of any such forms as what I call permansive, characterising them as being a mere fancy of mine. The first thing then that I have to do is to establish the existence of such forms by a number of clear examples.

6. I will begin with comparing two sentences from adjoining columns of Taylor's Cylinder, in which the same root occurs,—a perfect root having three letters incapable of change,—namely, כתם. It signifies in Arabic *celavit* (Frey. iv. 10), and this *may* be the meaning in the single passage in the Hebrew Bible where it occurs (see Ges. 723). At any rate this seems clearly the meaning in the two Assyrian passages which I will cite. In the former of these, 40 I. 68, Sennacherib, after mentioning the destruction of certain towns concluding with *'ak.mu*, "I burned," proceeds thus. I omit a simile which is evidently parenthetical. *Qu.ṭur n'a.ak.mu.ti.*

su.nu . . . . . *p'a.an* [𒁹 *i.e.*] *same.ʿe rap.su.ti ʿu.sak.tim,* "the smoke of their being burned (like a ponderous cloud) the face of the wide heavens I made to conceal." The verb is here in the 1. s. of the aorist of (the causative) Conjugation V., having two objects expressed, that which is made to produce, and that which is made to undergo, the change. The preceding verb *ʿakmu* is the 1. s. of the aorist of I. of the verb כמה. Let us now proceed to 41 I. 45. I omit another comparison to a cloud, which is parenthetic. [𒌋𒁹 𒌋𒁹 𒌋𒁹 *i.e.*] *epir sepi.su.nu* . . . . *p'a.an same.ʿe rap.su.ti ka.t'i.im,* "the dust of their feet (like, etc.) the face of the wide heavens is concealing." In my judgment, nothing can be clearer than that *katim* is the 3. m. s. of the principal permansive tense. Dr. Oppert says that I "substitute participles for the 3. s. m." By a participle I presume he means what I call the *nomen mutantis.* No doubt the latter would be *katim,* or, as I should write it for distinction, *kâtim*; but this would stand before what it governs; it should then be translated "the concealer of (the face of the wide heavens)," and it would require a verb to complete a sentence. It might as well be said that the second word in Genesis was a participle, or any other 3. m. s. of the preterite in the Bible. In this portion of Taylor's Cylinder we have no less than six long lines and a half in which there is nothing that he acknowledges to be a verb. In l. 43, Sennacherib begins to describe an attack upon him by an immense multitude of his enemies, whom he compares to locusts. All are doing the same things in constant succession, and accordingly, in speaking of what they do, he uses only permansive tenses. In l. 44 we have *te.bu.ʿu.ni,* "they are coming on," the 3. m. p. of the permansive of I. t. of the verb בוא. It has exactly the same relation to *it.bu.ni,* "they came on," cited in § 3, as *ka.t'i.im* in l. 47 has to *iktum,* "it concealed." Passing over a permansive verb in l. 48, the discussion of which would lead to a digression, we have in l. 49, after the description of the position taken by his enemies, *ẓab.tu.va,* "they are occupying, and," followed by a mutative verb. Surely it cannot be maintained with any

show of reason that *zab.tu*, followed as it is by the copulative enclitic which connects verbs, and verbs only, and this by an acknowledged verb, is anything else than a verb, and yet it has no preformative. The verb צבת is a very common one in the mutative tenses of both I. and V.

7. Before going further, I will give paradigms of the declension of the three principal tenses of the imaginary verb פגל;—the *permansive present*, the *aorist*, and the *mutative present*, or *present* simply. The latter is written indifferently with *g* or *gg*; the duplication of the second radical being euphonic, and not characteristic of the third conjugation. What really characterizes this conjugation is the use of *u* as the vowel of the preformative. It is *invariably* so used in Conjugations III., V., and VII., and their augmented conjugations; and *never* so in any other conjugation, unless the first radical of the verb be ו. Each of these three principal tenses admits a secondary tense formed by the addition of *u* to forms which end in the third radical, and of *ni* to those which end in an added vowel. The most important of these secondary tenses is that derived from the present, which is clearly a *future*.

8. Paradigms of the three principal tenses of Conjugation I.:—

	Permansive Present.	Aorist.	Present.
1. *s.*	paglaku, or paglak	ʿapgul	ʿapaggil, or ʿapagil
2. *m.s.*	pagilta	tapgul	tapaggil
2. *f.s.*	pagilti	tapguli	tapaggili
3. *m.s.*	pagil	ipgul	ipaggil
3. *f.s.*	paglat	tapgul	tapaggil
1. *p.*	pagilnu	napgul	napaggil
2. *m.p.*	pagiltunu	tapgulu	tapaggilu
2. *f.p.*	pagiltina	tapgula	tapaggila
3. *m.p.*	paglu	ipgulu	ipaggilu
3. *f.p.*	pagla	ipgula	ipaggila

The forms of the second person plural may require correction; but I believe that all the others may be depended upon. I use *i* as the vowel after the second radical in the permansive and ordinary present, and *u* in the aorist. These are the most

common vowels, but many verbs have different ones. Perhaps the third person feminine singular sometimes ends in *a*, that is *ʿa*, like the Hebrew הָ. An apparent example is in 18 I. 62, where the nominative is singular, *sa*, referring to *ʿu.ba.nu ʿa.ẓi.tu*, "a projecting summit;" and we have *su.qa.lu.la* in the printed text, and *lat* as a variant. The latter is, however, the reading of far the most copies, *if not of all.* In 33 I. 2·48, we have *su.qa.lu.la*; but there the nominative is plural, *ʿu.ba.n'a.at sad.e*, "the summits of the mountain." In 24 I. 51, we have also *su.qa.lu.la*, but here the nominative is masculine singular; and the final *a* is, as very often happens, a representative of *va*, the copulative enclitic, and not an inflexion of the verb.

9. What are called the personal pronouns of the first and second persons are really, as I have stated long since, permansive presents of a verb signifying "to be here," *adsum*; and *ʿana*, "ad," "to," or "for," is to be referred to the same root, אוּן. The *true* personal pronouns are the afformatives of the permansive present, *ʿaku*, *nu*, and *ta*, with its derivatives. It is *these* which the comparative grammarian should compare with the Indo-European pronouns. By the way, I never said, as Dr. Oppert represents me to have said, that the second person of the permansive present ended in *ka* and *ki*, as in Ethiopic. What I said was, that the fact of the first persons ending alike in Assyrian and Ethiopic ought not to be relied on as proof of a special connection between those two languages, because the Ethiopians had *k* in the second person, as well as in the first, while the Assyrians had not.

10. I will now give some other examples of permansive presents: In the descriptions of permanent features of a country, which are so frequently found in the historical inscriptions, the permansive tense is constantly used. Thus *e.g.* in 11 I. 43, etc., we read of "high mountains, which, like the edge of a sword, *sam.ṭu*, are piercing; which, for the passing of chariots, *la.ʿa na.ṭu.ʿu*, are not fitted." The exact force of the roots שמט and נטע or נטא may be questioned, but the general sense is clear. The king tells us that he left his chariots behind, and crossed the mountains without them;

and *here* he uses the aorist. In 22 I. 105, we have *kir.ḫu.su kima ʿu.b'a.an sad.e sa.kin*, "Its top (or head) like the summit of a mountain was lying," or simply "was." The verb שכן in its mutative parts signifies, actively, "to place," or "make;" in the permansive parts "to lie," or "be." This is something like what happens in several Greek verbs, as ἵστημι, and in Latin, where *facio*, as well as *fio*, is etymologically connected with *fuo*.

11. The permansive present is also habitually used in the passive conjugations; for the state denoted by these forms is generally a permanent one. So in Greek we have τετυμμένοι εἰσί, and in Latin, to a greater extent, *pulsatus sum*, etc., as well as *pulsati sunt*. Thus, we have 42 I. 11, *ra.ki.bu.s'i.in di.ku*, "their riders were killed," and soon after, *si.na mus.su.ra*, "they (*f.*) were abandoned." In 38 L. 8, we have *z'u.uḫ.ḫu.rat su.bat.ṣa*, "its site (was made, *i.e.* as often in Hebrew) was judged to be small." Examples might be quoted almost without end.

12. I will now pass to the first person. Dr. Oppert objects to an example which I gave formerly. In 19 I. 101, we read, as it is printed, *ina li.me ù.ma, ina Ninua uz.ba.ku*, which I have translated "In the eponymy of a certain person, in Nineveh I am stopping." I ought, however, to have translated it, "In the same eponymy." The character in two copies that I have collated is not that for *ù*, the copulative conjunction, but that which occurs so commonly on the tablets, signifying "the same." There can, I think, be no doubt that this is the correct reading in all the inscriptions; and that the copyists have substituted a common character for one which was not familiar to them. In 18 I. 69, we have *Ina li.me an.ni.ma*, "in the eponymy of this person," that is, "of myself." This is one of the many substitutes for the pronoun "my," which we meet with in the Assyrian inscriptions. This is sometimes contracted into *an.ma*, as in 40 L. 50. The seems to be used to indicate that a peculiar mode of expression is used; or perhaps it may signify "and so forth." Speaking of these substitutes for the possessive pronouns, I consider it due to Dr. Oppert to acknowledge the great merit of his late dis-

covery of the signification of *raman*, which had been so long a puzzle to Assyrian students. I adopt his explanation as perfectly correct, and I have met with five or six passages, besides those cited by himself, which it explains in the most satisfactory manner. *O si sic omnia !*

13. The explanation of *uz.ba.ku* given above, "I am stopping," clashes with Dr. Oppert's view in two respects. It is a permansive present, a tense which he does not acknowledge; and it is that of the verb וצב, a defective in פו, of which he has affirmed in his grammar that the Assyrians had none. It appears then absolutely necessary for the maintenance of his system that he should do away with this passage; and I will quote from p. 297, what he says on the subject: " D'abord, on ne lit jamais *usbaku*, mais toujours *uśbakuni* dans les inscriptions de Sardanapale III., dans la phrase; 'Pendant qu'ils me retinrent à Ninive, etc.' *Uśbakuni* est la 3me pers. du pluriel de סבך à l'iphteal avec le suffixe. Sans suffixe, ce serait *yuśśabaku* יְסַבְּכוּ, ou même *yuśabaku* יְסַבְּכוּ (G.A. § 128), et contracté avec le suffixe (ibid. § 197) יְסַבְּכוּנִי. Voilà à quoi se réduit la 1re personne en *ku*. Et ce *seul* example, si même il était avéré, ne pourrait avoir une grande portée, quand on le compare aux milliers de formes des aoristes fournies par les textes."

14. I have given the whole of this passage from M. Oppert's text; and I must say, that I think I have never read a passage of the same length, in which there are so many mis-statements as to matters of fact. The word *uzbaku* does occur in the passage cited; and when he denied that it did so, Dr. Oppert must have trusted to a treacherous memory. There is no *ni* after it in the printed text; there is no various reading noted in 19 I. 101; and, morover, I collated, some years ago, very carefully, all the copies of the inscriptions brought over by Mr. Layard, which substantially coincide with that which is printed, and I am thus in possession of some important various readings which are not printed; and I can say most positively that there is *not a single copy* which contains *any other* reading than *uzbaku*, which Dr. Oppert says "on ne lit JAMAIS !" Elsewhere, *e.g.* in l. 94 of the same plate, *ni* is added; but there the sentence begins with *ki*, " when ;"

and I translate "when in Ṣur I was stopping." This is the secondary permansive tense noted at the end of § 7. Where there is no *ki* at the beginning of the sentence, there is no *ni* at the end of *uẓbaku*. In the second place, the existence of the verb סבך is, so far as I am aware, a pure fiction. I never recollect to have met it, and I believe no one else has met it. It has been imagined purely for the purpose of neutralizing a text, the existence of which is inconsistent with two grammatical dreams. But in the third place, even if the existence of this verb be granted, it could not produce by any legitimate process such a grammatical monstrosity as *yuṣbakuni*. Dr. Oppert cannot produce any similar form. *Iṣbakuni* would be legitimate; and so would *iṣabḳuni*, or with *ṣt* or *ṣṣ* in the place of *ṣ*; *yuṣabkuni* might pass also for Conj. III.; but the substitution of *yu* for *i* before *ṣb*—such a form as *yupgaluni*—is unparalleled. *Yu* and *i* are not interchangeable, as he says in his grammar, the former is used in Conj. III., the latter in Conj. I.; but these two conjugations, the Pihel and Qal of the Hebrews, he has blended together in hopeless confusion.

15. But, perhaps, the most extraordinary sentence in the passage I have quoted is the last. The first question at issue is, whether the Assyrians had, like the Hebrews, at least one tense in each conjugation, in which there were no preformatives. It is in regard to this tense that we are at issue; that they had also a tense or tenses in each conjugation, which had preformatives, we are agreed. Now if I can establish even a single instance, in which a verb has no preformative, my case is proved. The fact is, however, that there are hundreds of instances of permansive verbs in inscriptions of every age, from Tiglath Pileser to Darius. Dr. Oppert says that *sarraku*, even if it should not be read *sarratus*,—a supposition which the variant form in *ak* (of which presently) proves to be untenable,—may mean "I am a king," and yet not be a verb. Here I differ from him. I say, in common I believe with all grammarians, that a word which includes in itself a pronominal subject, a copula and a predicate, is essentially a verb. It might as well be denied that *malakta* in 2 Sam. iii. 21, was a verb, because *malkê*, "kings of," is a noun. In 17

I. 32, etc., there are, after the completion of a sentence, no less than eleven words ending in *aku*. I take them to be permansive presents in the 1. s., ten of them belonging to triliteral verbs in the first, third or fourth conjugations, and the eleventh to a quadriliteral. It is not the slightest objection to this view that substantives or adjectives are in use, containing the former part of the alleged verb. So it is in all the Semitic languages. There is a *nomen permanentis*, and a *permansive present*, the beginnings of which generally agree, though their endings are generally as different as the cases of *rex* and the persons of *rego*. In the proper names *Nabu-na.ʿid*, "Nebo is glorious," and *Na.ʿid-Mar.duk*, "Marduk is glorious," as well as in *na.h.da.ku* in l. 32, we have the permansive present; in E.I.H. I. 3, on the contrary, *ru.ba.ʿa na.ʿa.dam*, "the glorious prince," gives us the *nomen permanentis*, here an adjective.

16. In the Babylonian inscriptions the *u* at the end of the 1 s. is dropped. Thus in E.I.H. I. 39, we have *p'i.it.lu.ḥ'a.ak be.l'u.ut.ṣ'u.un*, "I am habitually worshipping their lordships." The *u*, it will be observed, is also dropped in this affix, as it sometimes is in the affix *su*, when added to a word ending with a vowel. This is the 1. s. of the permansive present in the first augmented conjugation of פלח. Before this, in l. 10, the king had used the permansive past (badly spelled), *b'i.it.l'u.ḥu b'i.e.l'u.ut.ṣ'u.un*, "he has been habitually worshipping their lordships." In the Nakshi-Rustam inscription, l. 9, we have *s'a.al.ṭ'a.ak*, "I am ruling," as the translation of *patiyakhshiya*, or rather of the latter part of this Persian word; for the preposition at the beginning is expressed in the Babylonian text by a separate preposition. I was curious to see what Dr. Oppert would make of this, and I turned to his transcription of it into Hebrew characters in the Z. D. M. G. XI. 136. I was no little surprised to find that he makes two words out of these four characters, namely, שַׁלְט אֶעְבֻשׁ. The latter of these two words he has substituted for the termination *ak*, which he did not understand! This led me to look further into his transcriptions. In l. 24 there is a passage, the true reading and signification of the first word of

which was suggested to me by Mr. Talbot. 𒀭 is *ẓub* as well as *lib*. The reading is *ẓub.bu.ʿu sa ʿana.ku ẓi.ba.ʿa.ka.* I take the *ka* to represent *ak*, which would look very awkward after *ba.ʿa*; while if the 𒁹 were omitted it would be natural to read *ẓibak*; the word is really *ẓibaʿak*. I translate, "they are always made to will what I am willing." Here, again, Dr. Oppert transcribes the four characters by צַבָּא יִעְרֵשׁ instead of צְבָאַךְ, introducing a second imaginary word in place of a termination which he does not understand.

17. These are not the only instances of permansive verbs in the Nakshi-Rustam inscription. In l. 26, we have *kul.lu*, "has been holding," a deponent verb like *dominatus erat;* and in the following line we may restore the damaged word of Conj. IV. *na.su.ʿu*, "are carrying," from נשא. This word occurs again l. 18 ("The Ionians who maginat on their heads) are carrying;" as does the preceding word in l. 11 ("my laws) they are holding;" 𒀭𒀀𒁹, which must be here read *ha*, being added to the singular, to form the feminine plural. An eighth permansive form occurs in l. 21, where in speaking of the depraved state of the people before Darius became king, the obscure word *ṣummuḥu* is used. To these eight instances of permansive words I think myself entitled to add two others in which *ʿanaku* is used as a verb, there being no other in the sentence. Now, I can only count thirty-one mutative verbs in this inscription; so that the permansive verbs are in the inscription about a fourth of all the verbs. In the inscriptions generally they are perhaps a fifth or sixth of the whole; but this is a very different proportion from "one to thousands."

18. I will now give some examples of permansive forms of two verbs, the meanings of which have been strangely misconceived, ישא, "to have," and בשא, "to be." Both are used in the mutative, as well as in the permansive tenses; and in the former verb, there is a great liability to confusion, the aorist being in both the first and third persons singular *i.si*, as in E.I.H. 10, 15, where we have the derivative form *ʿa.ya ʿi.si na.ki.ri*, "let me not have enemies." The 3 s. of the permansive form would, I presume, be written precisely alike; and *i.su.ʿu* and *i.sa.ʿa* would be the 3 p. m. and f. in both the

aorist and the permansive tense. We have, however, in 9 I. 58, a form which is clearly permansive, *ma.ḫi.ra* (in another copy *sa.ni.na*) *ʿas taḫazi la i.saʿa.ku,* "a confronter (or rival) in the close combat I have not." In l. 44 of the same plate we have *ma.ḫi.ru la i.suʿu,* "a confronter has not had;" and in 42 L. 40, the name given by Sennacherib to his palace is *sa sa.ni.na la i.suʿu,* "which has not had a rival."

19. The verb "to be" occurs frequently in a variety of mutative forms; as in 3 m. s. Conj. I. *sa.nin ul ib.si,* "rival (or adversary) there was not," 18 I. 43; *mal.ku gab.rʾa.aʿa ul ib.si,* "king prevailing against me there was not," 145 B. 1; for which we have in 171 B. 7, *gab.rʾa.a.su ul ib.suʿu,* "one prevailing against him (whom) there was not." Here the *u* at the end of the verb is not the formative of the preterperfect, but a relative enclitic; and it may be so in some of the instances of the permansive past which I have given. It is to be observed that the *u* and *ni* of all the secondary tenses are annexed immediately to the primary tense; whereas, if an objective affix follow, the enclitic is placed after it. Thus, in 89 L. 40, we have, after *sa, i.qa.bu.su.ni,* "which (the people of Ḥatti) call." Here *i.qa.bu* is the 3 p. m. of the present of קִבָּה; *su* the affix "it," which, in combination with the preceding *sa,* must be translated "which," as in Hebrew; and *ni* the relative enclitic is after the affix. Were the perfect to be expressed, we should have *i.qa.bu.ni.*

20. Other forms of this verb are *i.bʾa.as.suʿu,* 3 m. p. present "do not exist," E.I.H. 2, 20; I have also met *i.bʾa.as.si* in the singular; and on Bellino's cylinder l. 31 we have the infinitive *ʿa.di la ba.sʾi.e ʿu.sa.lik.su.nu.ti,* "till there was none (left) I made them depart." In 38 I. 18, this is repeated with two various readings, *i* for *e,* and *su* for *su.nu.ti.* The singular *su* is very often used, when there is no definite antecedent, in the sense of "people," as in 47 B. 88, etc. In 65 I. 2, 13, we have *ʿu sʾa.al.mʾi.is* (for *ʿusalmisu*) to express the *ma.da ʿu.sʾa.al.mi* of E.I.H. 6, 43, "the people I caused to see." Once more we have the 1 s. of the aorist of בִּשָּׂא in Conj. V. in 42 L. 44, *ʿa.gam.mu ʿu.sab.si* "a lake I made" (*lit.* "I caused to be.")

21. The permansive form of this verb is most commonly

found in the parenthetic formula *ma.la* (or *mal*) *ba.su.ʿu*, "as many as there are." I must here observe that while I have always, in common with Sir H. Rawlinson, assigned to *mala* an affirmative signification, instead of a negative one, as Dr. Oppert assigned to it in his grammar, I never attributed to *basuʿu* the signification of number, as I am represented to have done in Dr. Oppert's late paper. He now admits that *mala basuʿu* means "all," though he does not yet see his mistake in supposing *ba.su.ʿu* to mean "bad" or "contemptible." That this word and its Accadian equivalent 𒀭𒌋𒀭𒌋 𒀭𒌋𒌋𒌋 *nal.la*, as I read it with some small doubt, means simply "to be," I feel perfectly sure. But, as this is rather a matter for a lexicographer than a grammarian, I will not discuss it here.

22. It remains for me to give the forms of the permansive tense in the different conjugations; of pagil Conj. I. enough has been said; I have also given examples of pitgul Conj. I. t. Another occurs in 37 I. 66, where Sennacherib speaks of people, "who to the kings my fathers," *la kit.nu.su*, "were not submissive," from כנש. The conjugation generally indicates repeated action, and the tense that this repeated action was continued for a length of time.

23. The permansive of Conj. II. is of the form napgul; and of II. t. I presume it would be naptegul. I have, however, met with no instance of the latter, and only one of the former. It occurs in 40 L. 3, *sa.qis n'a.an.zu.zu*, "they were fixed on high." The root is נזז. The *n* of the root is here preserved, but it is often assimilated to the *z* when it comes in contact with it; and we have thus apparently, though not really, a root of which all the letters are ז. In the present text, which is to me in great measure obscure, the verb quoted lies between two other permansive ones, *pit.lu.lu* Conj. I. t. and *n'u.uṣ.ṣu.ru* Conj. III., which, again, is followed by *n'u.um.mu.ru* in the same conjugation.

24. The permansive form of Conj. III. is but rare: the form is paggal. Examples are *qar.ra.da.ku*, "I am very strong," 17 I. 32; and *ʿal.la.ka bir.k'a.a.ʿa*, "my knees are moving briskly," 16 II. c. 30. This is the 3 f. p. from הלך. In the following line we have another permansive verb, *la.ʿa*

ni.ḥa se.p'a.a.ʿa, "my feet have not any rest." This is from נוח in a conjugation peculiar to concave verbs, which is in the mutative parts analogous to Conj. III. of perfect verbs, but in the permansive parts has generally a passive or neuter signification. Another example will be found in § 11. Examples of Conj. IV., of which the form is puggul, have been already given in §§ 11 and 17. The verbs in the last section are כלה and סמח.

25. I have not met with the permansive form of Conj. III. t. or IV. t., nor of V. or V. t. The former of these I should from analogy expect to be sapgal; and the latter, perhaps, satpegal. Conj. VI. makes supgul; so, at least, I infer from the defective and otherwise irregular verbs in this tense which alone I have hitherto found. From הלך we have certainly *su.lu.ku*, "they were made to go," 49 I. 4, 30; and I suspect *su.qu.ru*, in an obscure passage, 39 L. 44, to be another 3 m. p. from יקר. On the other hand we have *su.qa.lu.la* and *su.qu.lu.la* from קלל in 18 I. 62, as if the form had an additional syllable. The fact, however, of the additional vowel being in different copies *a* and *u*, suggests that it is irregularly introduced; perhaps in order to distinguish to the eye a derivative of this root from one of גלל or כלל, which were both in use; or perhaps, because the liquid *l* admitted a vowel before it (see § 24 of Chap. II.) I would therefore read *suqlula*.

26. There are two verbs in a permansive tense beginning with 𐎠, of which the conjugation has been doubted. In the one this character is followed by *qul*, in the other by *kun*. There can be no doubt that the verbs are שקל and שכן; but the initial character admits two readings. It may be *sit*, and the verbs would then be in Conj. I. t.; or it may be *muṣ*, which, as a variety of examples prove, may be interchanged with *mus* before ק or כ. Thus, *mus.ki* and *mu.uṣ.ki* are both used for the name of the country, *Musuk*, Heb. מֶשֶׁךְ. Thinking that the significations of the verbs in question were not such as suited the Conj. I. t., it occurred to me that *m* was here substituted for *s* as a preformative, on account of the first radical being *s*, the conjugation being VI. As, however, I have found no such tense beginning with *mu*, or *mus*, and as *ʿu.s'a.as.kin* is met with in Conj. V., with the preformative

s before a first radical *s*, I am now inclined to think that the sixth conjugation has never *m* for its preformative, and that we should read *sit.ku.nat su.bat.ṣun* in 41 B. 39, "their dwelling is lying;" and in the Equinox tablet, K. 15, *sit.qu.lu*, (the day and night) "are balancing one another."

27. Of the permansive form of Conj. VI. t. I have as yet met only one example. It is in some respects a very valuable one, as it clearly establishes the existence of a permansive past, terminating in *u*. The nominative is singular, and there is no relative particle on which it could depend. It occurs in 51 I. 1, 32, where we have *la su.te.su.ru mu.ze.ʿe mi.ʿe.sa*, "the exit of its waters had not been made straight." The verb is ישׁר, and the form is probably *sutpegul*; but from the weakness of the first radical, this is not certain. I have not met with the permansive form of either VII. or VII. t.

[Chapter II.]—*Nouns.*

1. In the present chapter I propose to consider the declension of Assyrian substantives and adjectives. In the following chapter I will treat of their syntax, endeavouring to show under what circumstances each of the forms, the connexion of which is explained in the present chapter, is found to be used. In a future chapter I will treat of the connexion between the primitive forms of nouns and their significations; nouns which have the same primitive form bearing, in a very great degree, the same relation in their meanings to their verbal roots.

2. I think it best to reserve the full consideration of the forms of nouns, as connected with their significations, till I have treated of the verbal forms of roots; but as I shall have to speak of these forms occasionally in connexion with declensional differences, I feel it necessary to define the terms of which I shall have to make use.

3. A perfect Assyrian root consists of three consonants, which are called its radical letters; and every Assyrian word derived from such a root consists of three consonants at least, and two vowels at least. Words which differ from one another only in their radical letters are said to be of the same

form. Thus *marẓi* and *namri* are of the same form; as are *puluḥti* and *tukulti; musaskin* and *musalbir; gabsa'ati* and *rapsa'ati*, etc.

4. If we assume a root of three letters, we can always exhibit a derivative of this root of the same form as any derivative of any other root that we may meet with. It has been the custom with Hebrew and Arabic grammarians to assume פעל as a standard root. It was chosen on account of its signifying "to do" or "to make," which seemed the most natural type of a verbal root; but it is objectionable on account of the weakness and uncertainty of sound of the second radical. I substitute for this a ג, which gives an imaginary root, but one which is very convenient. The words in the preceding section would become, by substituting the three letters of this root for the three in each of them, *pagli, pugulti, musapgil, pagla'ati;* and I take these as the names of the forms to which these words respectively belong.

5. All the forms given in the preceding section are forms of nouns; but there is a difference between them. One of the four, *musapgil*, is a *primary form*, or *theme;* the three others are *derived forms*, or *cases*. Observe that, besides the principal theme, which is singular, there are plural and dual themes, and sometimes feminine themes, singular and plural. In the present chapter I will show how the cases are derived from the theme, and to a certain extent how the theme may be recovered from one of its cases. The same derived form may, however, be derived from different primary forms. For example, *pagli* is a case, the theme of which may be *pagal, pagil*, or *pagul*. Had we only the words *marẓi* and *namri* before us, we should have no means of judging to which of three possible themes we should trace each of them. Other derivatives of the themes in question are required before we can say that the former theme is *maruẓ*, the latter *namir*.

6. The themes last given differ from *musapgil*, in that they contain no consonant but the three letters of the root. I call such themes as consist of the three radical letters, with two short vowels intervening, *simple themes*. Those which contain *any* addition, reckoning as such a quiescent letter, א, י, or ו,

which may be considered as lengthening a vowel, I call augmented themes.

7. The following are the different kinds of augmentation which an Assyrian root may have, and it may have two or more of them at the same time. First, it may have a prefixed addition consisting of one or more servile letters with a vowel or vowels, as in *musapgil;* 2nd, it may have a medial addition of a servile letter, as in *pitgul,* or in *pâgil,* where the the first syllable would be in Arabic فَا, in Hebrew פּוֹ or פֹּ; 3rd, it may have the middle radical doubled, as in *paggal;* 4th, it may have the final radical doubled, as in *paglal;* or 5th, it may have one or more servile letters added at the end as in *puglân* or *paglût.* I do not consider the *at* or *it* at the end of feminine nouns as constituting an augmented theme, but as a declensional modification of a theme. The form *pugulti* in § 4 I consider to be a feminine case of *pugul,* or a case of *puglat,* the feminine theme of *pugul.*

8. There are many feminine themes of this description. Some of them are substantives denoting females, or what are considered to be such, where the true themes denote the corresponding males. Thus *ṣa.p'i.in* is "a sweeper away," applied to a king, 40 B. 25; *ṣa.pi.n'a.at* is the same, applied to a chariot, which is conventionally feminine, 41 I. 82; *mu.rap.pis,* 33 L. 9, and *mu.rap.pi.sat,* 38 L. 5, mean "enlarger," and are applied to the king and to the sceptre respectively. Adjectives, which always agree with their substantives in gender, form feminine themes of this description: they are, however, rarely used in the theme, either masculine or feminine. A few nouns are used in the masculine and feminine forms without distinction, as *puluḥ* and *pulḥat,* "fear;" and there are several which are only found in the feminine form, as *ḥirat,* "a wife;" *'irẓit,* "a land," or "the earth;" *'isat,* "fire;" *'amat* or *tamat,* "a sea."

9. Besides these, there are many feminine themes, which have a collective signification, and may very often be translated as plurals. In 42 B. 70, we have *'u.kin lib.n'a.aṣ.ṣu,* "I made fast its bricks;" *aṣ.ṣu* stands for *at.su* by a euphonic change which will be explained in § 56 of this chapter. The word

is *libnat*, the feminine theme of *libin*, which would signify "a single brick." It is not a plural, as might perhaps be thought. The plural would be, according to analogy, assuming *libin* to be a feminine, *lib.naʿa.ti.su*. Besides, it is declined as a feminine singular; and similar nouns are accompanied by adjectives in the feminine singular. It is, as I have stated, a collective singular, used for a plural. There are above a score of such collectives, from perfect and imperfect roots, in frequent use in the texts.

10. *All* nouns terminating in *at* or *it* servile are feminine; other nouns *may be* so. Examples of such are *ḫaluṣ*, "a castle" (I put the second vowel of the theme in roman, because I am not sure what it is; see § 5). In 52 I. N°. 3, 2.16, we have *ḫa.al.ṣi ra.bi.tim*, "of the great castle;" and the plural occurs with feminine adjectives (⤚ being used for the first syllable) 146 B. 6, 7. In 17 II. 32 *l.* we have *li.sa.an li.mut.tu*, "a sore tongue," the adjective being feminine. Other examples of feminine nouns, not so by syllabic addition (or, as Hebrew grammarians express it, by *motion*), are ʿ*um*, "a mother;" ʿ*istar*, "a goddess;" (I believe, a loan word, originally signifying "a star;") ʿ*umman*, "an army;" ʿ*uzun*, "an ear; *qat* or *qaʿat*, "a hand" (we have *qa.aṣ.ṣu*, "his hand," 49 B. 32 and 8 II. 45 *r*; the plural in the principal case is *qa.ta.tu* 8 II. 40 *r*, which proves that the *t* is radical), and all augmented forms ending in *út*, as *sarrút*, "a kingdom" or "reign."

11. Nouns have three numbers, the singular, the dual, and the plural. The dual is not often used, and only, I believe, in the theme (§ 5); the cases of the dual do not seem to be distinguished from those of the plural. The dual is of course most frequently used for nouns which express objects that are in their nature double; but I think that I have met with duals of other nouns.

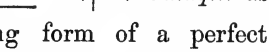
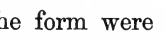
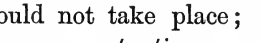
12. Nouns in the singular number have three cases in addition to the theme. I call these the first or principal case, the second case, and the third case. They are used so differently from the nominative, genitive, and accusative cases of European languages, that I think, on mature considera-

tion, the use of these terms decidedly objectionable, as likely to mislead. Their use will be explained in the following chapter. Here it will suffice to say that the first case ends in *u* or *um:* it appears from the grammatical tablets that the Assyrians considered this to be the leading form of the noun. The second case ends in *i*, *e*, or *im;* and the third in *a* or *am*. The third case is only used in the singular number.

13. Before I speak of the formation of these cases from the theme, I must go back to the classes of roots. I stated in § 3 that a perfect Assyrian root consisted of three radical consonants. It does not follow, however, that every root which consists of three consonants is perfect. Not to speak of roots having for the first radical a נ, which is often assimilated to the following consonant, and which sometimes disappears altogether; nor of surd roots, as they are called, of which the second and third radicals are the same, and which have some peculiarity consequent upon this; there are certain weak letters, the existence of which in a root renders it imperfect.

14. I consider א, ה, ו, י, and ע to be weak letters; I do not include ח in the list; preferring to regard those roots in which a weak letter is found where cognate languages have ח, as substituting an ה or ע for it. This is the case in a few roots, of which the most common are רחק, פתח, and לקח. I consider the corresponding Assyrian roots to be רעק, פתע, and לקע; as I consider the Assyrian root corresponding to the Hebrew צער to be צחר. In this root the second radical never exhibits any symptom of weakness.

15. All these letters are capable of causing the assimilation of the preceding and following vowels, which sometimes causes the contraction of two syllables into one; for when a weak letter has the same vowel before and after it, the two may coalesce, though they do not necessarily do so. An example may be given in the third person singular of the present of a verb with a weak letter for its first radical, suppose הלך. Instead of *i'allak*, which would be the regular form, the Assyrians first substituted *i* for *a*, assimilating the vowels, and then contracted *i'il* into simple *il*. Thus they wrote *illak*, a dissyllable, where a regular verb would have three syllables.

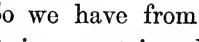
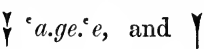
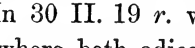
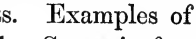
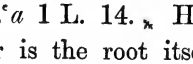
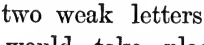
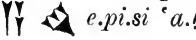
16. So, when the second radical was weak, they wrote *ruʿuq* for *raʿuq*, like *maruz*, and perhaps pronounced  *ru.uq.ti* as a dissyllable, when the corresponding form of a perfect root would have three syllables. It must be observed, however, that when the two vowels of the form were characteristically different, an assimilation could not take place; for example, in the form pâgil, the *nomen mutantis*, no assimilation is permitted. We have  *qâʿis*, 17 I. 9, and  *qâʿi.sat*, 66 II. 9, "an ensnarer (of the living)," applied to a god and a goddess. See Gesenius under קוּשׁ, 2. Examples of assimilation when the third radical is weak will be given presently.

17. Besides these irregularities, which are common to the five weak letters, three of them, א, ו, and י, are liable to be dropped altogether. In the case of one of these being the middle radical, this may always be considered a case of contraction, and it may be so sometimes when the first or third radical disappears; but the dropping of a letter of which I speak here, and of which I will shortly give examples, is not the result of contraction. Where a perfect root would have a complete syllable, though a short one, a root beginning or ending with one of the letters in question will sometimes drop it, apparently on the principle that a short unaccented vowel, having no substantial consonant to support it, is a nullity. Such Hebrew forms as נִיגַּל, צֵאת, and חָטָא will show what I mean. In the first and second, weak letters, called by Hebrew grammarians ה and י, are altogether omitted; of these letters, the latter is in Assyrian certainly ו, and the former is possibly י. In the second and third examples an א is written, but regarded as a nullity.

18. I now come to consider the different modes of declining themes. The most natural mode is simply to add to the theme the three terminations, which I will here call *u*, *i*, and *a*, reserving till the next chapter an explanation of the modifications of these terminations indicated in § 12. This natural declension is always used when the theme terminates in a strong consonant preceded by a long vowel, such as that of

the form pagâl, the infinitive, or *nomen mutationis*, or that of the augmented forms in *ân* or *ût*, whatever may precede the last syllable. It is also used when the last consonant of a monosyllabic theme is strong, provided that the theme be not derived from a surd root. Examples are *mut*, "a husband," whence *muti*; *ab*, "a father," whence *abu*, *abi*. Lastly, it is used when, the last consonant being as before, the last vowel, though short, is so completely separated from the preceding vowel, that a contraction is impossible. This happens in many forms where a double letter intervenes, as tapgal, pitgul, musapgil, etc.

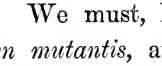
19. There are three cases indicated in the preceding section in which the noun is not declined in the natural manner there indicated. 1st, The last consonant may be a weak one; 2nd, the theme may be a monosyllable derived from a surd root; and 3rd, the theme may terminate in a strong consonant, preceded by a short vowel; and this may be separated from the preceding vowel by so thin a partition that a contraction becomes possible, and generally takes place; the last vowel being dropped. I will treat of these three cases in their order.

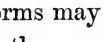
20. If the theme terminates in a weak letter, the preceding vowel is assimilated to that of the case. Thus from *ʿaẓʿi*, "going out" (root יצא), we have  *ʾa.ẓu.ʾu*, 67 I. 2. 37. So we have from the theme which signifies "a crown"—it is uncertain what it is—  *ʿa.gu.ʿu*,  *ʿa.ge.ʿe*, and  *ʿa.ga.ʿa* in the three cases. In 30 II. 19 *r.* we have *ʿa.gu.ʿu e.lu.ʿu*, "the high crown," where both adjective and substantive end in weak consonants. Examples of the other cases will be found in 9 I. 5 and 21. So again from the theme for "mouth," we have  *pu.ʿu* in 39 II. 1 *l*,  *pi.ʿi* 39 II. 5 *l*, and  *pa.ʿa* 1 L. 14. Here also the actual theme is uncertain; nor is the root itself less so. Perhaps it is פאה. If so, two weak letters would come together, and a contraction would take place, as it certainly does in *e.pi.si ʿa.ḫi*, "another work," 16 I. 20.

I cannot think, however, that a contraction takes place as a matter of course, and that we should read *ʿagû, elû, pû,* etc., when a second vowel is expressed.

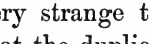
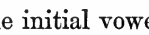
21. In monosyllabic themes derived from surd roots, or from which surd roots are derived (for I suspect that many of these themes are adopted from foreign languages, and that the verbal form, if in use, is derived from the substantive or adjective), the final consonant is repeated before the case-ending. Thus from *sar,* "a king," we have *sar.ru;* from *lib,* "a heart," *lib.bu;* from *ʿum,* "a womb" or "mother," *ʿum.mu.* A few dissyllables also double their last letter, as *ʿagam,* "a lake," whence *ʿa.gam.mu,* 41 L. 44. Perhaps this should be considered as derived from a quadriliteral root. The word is singular, for it is referred to by 𒐊 *sa.*

22. The omission of the last vowel before the case-ending is very common. It always takes place in the forms pagal (but not pagâl, the infinitive), pigil, and pugul, and in augmented forms like muptagil, in which the second radical stands alone between the last two vowels. It takes place for the most part in the forms pagil and pagul, as in *n'a.am.ri,* from *namir, mar.ẓi* from *maruẓ,* and many others; but there are exceptions. In 7 I. F. 24 we have *bit.ṣu la.bi.ru,* "his old house;" older inscriptions have *la.be.ru,* 20 I. 3; and it is only in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzer that I find 𒀭𒁹𒁹𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 *l'a.ab.ri,* 65 I. 2. 39. We must, however, distinguish the form pâgil, the *nomen mutantis,* and pagûl, *nomen mutati,* from pagil and pagul, which like pagal belong to the *nomen permanentis.* Both forms may belong to the same root, and to the eye may be the same. Thus 𒀭𒀭𒀭 may be "ruler," *mâ.lik,* which would make *mâ.li.ku,* and in the feminine *mâ.li.kat,* 66 II. *a.* 4; or "king," *ma.lik,* which would make *mal.ku,* 145 B. 1. So *dal.ḥu,* 74 B. 13 (whence *da.li.'ḥ.tu*), means "troubled, being in disturbance;" but *dâliḥ, dâ.li.ḥat,* means "the putter in disturbance, the disturber," 66 II. *a.* 4.





23. The three forms piggal, piggul, and puggal require special notice. The two former are derived from the third

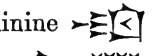
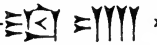
conjugation, and the last from the fourth. It will appear very strange to an Hebraist, but it is certainly the case, that the duplication of the second radical is very apt to disappear, and the initial vowel to be the sole characteristic of the conjugation; the forms thus become pigal, pigul, and pugal, and the first two of these generally, though not always, drop the second vowel in their declension. Thus for *gissar*, the intensive form of *gasar*, we have *gisar;* and in the second case  *gis.ri*, 17 I. 1, a little more forcible than *g'a.as.ri*, which we have in the parallel text, 32 I. 1. The meaning is "bold, daring;" and we have the feminine *gi.sar.tu*, 66 II, *a*. 1. The word which is constantly used for "enemies" in the Behistun inscriptions is similarly contracted. It is *nikrutu;* in the singular it would be *nikru*, from *nikar*. So *lim.nu* in 48 B. 31 is from *liman*, for *limman*, "annoying" or "injurious." But this word gives occasion for another remark. The word *limnu* may come from a theme *limun*, as well from *liman;* from the *nomen mutati* as well as from the *nomen permanentis*. We have, in fact, in 17 II. 32.  *pu.'u lim.nu*, "an injured mouth;" followed by *li.s'a.an li.mut.tu* (for *limuntu*), "an injured tongue;" the text evidently speaks of wounds. The two adjectives are distinct in the feminine singular, which would be with active signification *li.mat.tu*, but are confounded in all other parts.

24. In some adjectives, however, of these forms the final vowel of the theme is not dropped. I have met *i.sa.ru* from *isar* for *issar*. The reason of this I take to be that the initial vowel is here virtually formed by contraction. The root is ישר; and the *i* of the root and the *i* of the form combine together, so as to form an obstacle to further contraction. The retention of the vowel in *suturu* may be explained on the same principle, the root being ותר and the form supgulu, so that two *u's* combine in the first syllable. It is less easy to account for *pumalu;* perhaps the *a* is long by nature, or perhaps the liquid third radical may have rendered it desirable that a vowel should precede it. I am the more inclined to

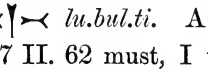
think this, because I find *ba.ṭa.lum* in 38 II. 74 *r.*; but in 50 I. 4, 28, I find *b'a.aṭ.lu.ti.* The theme is *baṭil,* as the feminine form *ba.ṭ'i.il.tu* in 172 B. 5 proves conclusively; the *a* before the *l* must therefore be euphonic.

25. The feminine theme may be said to be formed from the principal case of the masculine by changing *u* into *at* or *it.* I am not able to give any rule by which it can be absolutely determined which vowel should be used; and in most adjectives it cannot be known, the theme not being in use, and its vowel being dropped in the cases. On the whole, however, I find *at* to be more frequently used than *it;* and I believe it is exclusively used when the theme is a *nomen mutantis* of any of the conjugations, or a monosyllable derived from a surd root.

26. The feminine cases are generally formed by adding *tu, ti,* and *ta* to the theme, properly so called; sometimes, however, by adding *u, i,* and *a* to the feminine theme. The latter mode is the only one possible, if the theme be a monosyllable derived from a surd root. Thus from *sar,* "a king," we have *sarrat,* "a queen," in the theme, and *sarratu* in the principal case. From *ḫirat,* "a wife," on the contrary, we may have *ḫirtu,* though *ḫiratu* is also in use. So also from *napsat,* "a life," theme *napis,* we have sometimes *napsatu,* but more frequently *napistu.* Adjectives almost always form their feminine cases by adding *tu,* etc. to the proper theme, at least if the root be a perfect one, though they sometimes admit the other form also. Thus we have *saplitu,* "low," as well as *sapiltu; maḫritu,* "old," as well as *maḫirtu.* From *dan,* however, we could only have *dannatu*; and, on the contrary, from *eli* only *elitu.*

27. The addition of the feminine case-endings to the theme sometimes causes a change in its last letter. For instance, *n* is changed into *t,* as in the instances already given in § 23; the masculine case *lim.nu* corresponding to the feminine  *li.mut.tu,* for *limuntu.* So we have  *li.bit.tu,* for *libintu,* 49 B. 52. The feminine theme is *libnat.* It is probable that

d and *ṭ* when final were also assimilated to *t* when they preceded it in the feminine cases; but the Assyrians did not in writing distinguish these letters from *t* when terminating a syllable.

28. The letters *s*, *z*, *ṣ* and *ẓ*, were sometimes, but not necessarily, changed to *l* before the *t* of the feminine cases. I believe, however, that none of the three last-mentioned letters is ever found preceding the *t*. It is changed either into *s* or into *l*. Thus in 17 II. 27 *l*. we have *ma.r'u.us.tu*, evidently the feminine of *mar.ẓu*. In 16 I. 76 we have *ma.r'u.us.ta;* and in a parallel text, 27 I. 92, we have *ma.ru.ul.ta*. In the upper part of 27 I. 10 we have *ris.ti* for *riẓti;* and, again, in 12 I. 90 we have *ri.ḫ'i.il.ti*, evidently for *riḫiẓti*. As to *s* itself we have *lu.b'u.us.ti*, "clothing," 38 II. 48 *m*., but much oftener  *lu.bul.ti*. A comparison of the text last quoted with 67 II. 62 must, I think, satisfy every one that these are the same word. I at one time read the initial character *ṭib*, and translated it, "what was dyed with;" and I perceive that Dr. Oppert and M. Ménant have done the same; but here we have *lubulti matisunu*, "clothing of their people," just as in 38 II. 48, 49 *m*. we had *lubusti ilutisunu*, "clothing of their godships." It follows that *birmi*, which usually follows *lubulti*, does not signify a dye-stuff but a material; no doubt "wool," Ϝερϝιον; compare *vellus* for *velves* (as *mollis* for *molvis*). The other word, which is commonly joined with *birmi*, , *ku.kum*, or *kum?* for I suspect that the first character is a nonphonetic determinative of names of plants, I take to mean "flax" or "cotton."

29. The Assyrians formed their plurals in several ways, of which I will treat in succession. Some plurals are formed by the addition of *n* for the theme, and *nu* and *ne* for the case ending, to the third case of the singular. These are sometimes written in full phonetic characters; but very often the theme, or the principal case of the singular, is accompanied by the character . This combination must be understood to denote the proper plural form, which the reader is presumed to know;—and this constitutes one of the chief

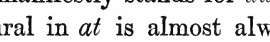
difficulties in reading Assyrian. Sometimes, however, as a guide to him is added, which I read *ne;* because, while *ne* and *ni* were expressed alike, *te* and *ti* were distinguished; and it is *te* which is used similarly to when the plural theme terminates in *t*.

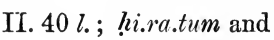
30. Examples are *dup.p'a.a.ne*, "clay tablets," K. 116; where K. 131 has and K. 136 only. All these tablets contain the same text. So we have *ḫal.ẓa.ne*, "castles." 32 I. 50 and *ḫal.ẓu* with plural sign (to be read *ḫalẓan* or *ḫalẓane*) 146 B. 6, 7, 8. Observe that the prefixed to this word is a nonphonetic determinative. In 28 I. 1, 12, we have *ḫar.s'a.a.nu*, "woods;" and in 145 B. 2, *ḫar.sa.ne*, in the second case. In 39 II. 11 *l.*, *pa.ʿa.nu.* from *pa.ʿa* (§ 20) is "mouths," as the Accadian equivalent proves; but in 17 II. 31, *pa.ʿan* is used for "a face;" it takes, however, a plural adjective. In 33 L. 6, *e.mu.q'a.an*, "powers," and in 30 II. 14 *r.*, *ri.s'a.an*, "heads," are written in full. The singulars *emuq* and *ris* are in common use.

31. The plural in *an* only appears in a limited number of substantives, some of which admit also different plurals. It is, I believe, never used in the case of an adjective or of a substantive which is feminine by termination. Several plurals in *an* are, however, feminine, as well as the singulars from which they are formed, as appears from the adjectives which accompany them. Such are *emuqan*, *risan*, and *ḫalẓan*, cited in § 30. It would, therefore, be incorrect to say that *an* was the termination of the masculine plural. I believe that originally, in the language from which all of the Semitic family have diverged, the addition of *am* or *av* to the singular theme rendered it plural; and that *at* was added as a feminine termination to both singular and plural. Thus the theme alone was of *either* gender, as was the plural in *am* or *av;* but *at* in the singular and *avat* in the plural were distinctively feminine. From the original *am*, which was retained in Phenician, came the Hebrew *im*, and the Assyrian and Himyaritic *an;* from

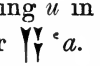
the *av* came the Egyptian *u*. The Aramaic and Arabic forms, in which both vowel and consonant are different from what they were originally, are probably of later origin than the others.

32. Another form of the plural ends in *t* in the theme, and in *tu* and *ti* in the cases. Originally, I conceive, as I stated in the last section, this termination was *avat* or *awat*, and was peculiar to feminines by termination. This was in time changed to *aʿat*, sometimes contracted to *ât*; but in the cases there is generally, though not always, an between what belongs to the theme properly so called and the preceding; and this should, I conceive, be sounded as a distinct syllable. In Arabic, as well as in Masoretic Hebrew, the termination ـَات or וֹת is pronounced as one syllable, but the quiescent letter which is always inserted indicates contraction; and the Hebrew *ḥolem* manifestly stands for *awa*.

33. This plural in *at* is almost always used for feminine adjectives, and for substantives feminine by termination. It is also used for many substantives which are feminine otherwise than by termination. Thus we have *ʿum.ma.n'a.at*, "armies," 146 B. 4, and *ʿum.ma.na.te*, 151 B. 12, from *ʿumman*. In 37 II. 11, the plural of "mouths" is stated to be  *paʿa.tum* or *paʿa.nu; puʿu* in the singular and *paʿan* have masculine adjectives, 17 II. 32 and 31 *l.* I presume, however, that *paʿa.tu* would take a feminine one. Irregularities of this kind are found in all languages.

34. Examples of this plural when the singular is feminine by termination are *ẓi.raʿa.te* "high, supreme," 33 L. 6; *e.la.tum*, "high," 30 II. 14 *r.*; *dan.naʿa.ti*, "strong," 146 B. 6; *mar.ẓaʿa.ti*, "difficult of access," 146 B. 7; all which adjectives are in concord with the plurals in *an* mentioned in § 31; *ḥi.ra.ti ra.baʿa.ti*, "great wives," 153 B. 12, from *ḥirat*. This is a theme feminine by termination; but it must not be supposed that *ḥir* would mean "a husband." The latter I take to be *ḥaʿar*, whence  *ḥ'a.aʿa.ru*, 36 II. 40 *l.*; *ḥi.ra.tum* and *ḥ'i.ir.tum* in line 43 *l.*

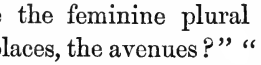
are equivalent forms (see § 26), or perhaps dialectic variations, of the principal case of *ḫirat*, "a wife," which is in the same relation to the former theme as *din* or *dinat*, "a law" or "judgment," to *daʿan*, "a lawgiver" or "judge."

35. Besides the two plurals of which I have hitherto spoken, which I take to have been the original forms common to all the Semitic languages, there are other forms which the Assyrians appear to have developed after their separation from those who used the other languages of the family. One of these is the masculine plural in *ut* in the theme, and *utu* and *uti* in the cases. It differs from the feminine plural last mentioned in having *u* in place of *a* at the end of the theme, and  *ʿu* for *ʿa*. The *ʿu* is, however, oftener omitted than expressed, contrary to what takes place in the case of *ʿa*.

36. This plural is used by all adjectives and by the *nomina mutantis* of all the conjugations. All these admit feminines by termination; and it may be laid down as a general rule that a masculine plural in *ut* can be changed into a feminine plural in *at*; or if not into that, into *et* (see § 37); but many feminine plurals in *at* do not admit masculine plurals in *ut*. For example, *sarraʿate* is good Assyrian for "queens," but for "kings" they would say *sarrane*; *sarruti* would come from *sarrut*, "a kingdom" or "reign." Examples of these plurals need not be given here. They will appear in the following chapter, and are everywhere to be met with.

37. Some feminine substantives and adjectives form their plurals in *etu, ete,* in place of *atu, ate;* or, perhaps, I should say, as well as in *atu, ate*. In 33 I. 10 we have *ʿa.na ru.q'e.e.ti*, "to distant places (he fled);" in 153 B. 12 we have *is.re.ti nam.raʿa.ti*; the latter word is certainly an adjective in the feminine plural, "shining," or the like. Whatever, then, may be the meaning of *isreti*, it is clearly used as a substantive feminine and plural. Nebuchadnezzar speaks E. I. H. 3. 13 of having made and purified (?) the *isreʿet* of Babylon, and l. 65 those of Borsippa. The spelling is not exactly the same in any two of the three passages, but there can be no reasonable doubt that the word is the same. These examples establish the existence of the feminine plural in *et*; and I confess

that I cannot affirm with confidence anything more than that it exists.

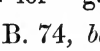
38. I may, however, mention a conjecture which has occurred to me. Can *et* be a feminine plural of adjectives used in place of *ât* when they are not accompanied by substantives, but are used as substantives, with "persons, places, or things," understood after them? This explains the *ruqeti* of 33 I. 10, and the *muqalleti* of E. I. H. 10, 16, "may I not sinfully incline (*'ar.si*, from רשע) to the blasphemous persons!" the feminine plural being used to express contempt. In a similar context in 68 I. 2. 30, *ḫi.ṭe.ti*, "sinful persons," is substituted. It explains also the  of N.R. 8, where the adjective *an.ne.ti* cannot be attached to the substantive which follows it; but we must translate, "these (are) the countries;" and so in similar contexts. But how, it may be asked, can *isreti* be explained on this supposition? May it not be the feminine plural of ישר *isar*, meaning "the straight places, the avenues?" "lightsome avenues" well suits the context in 153 B. 12; and Nebuchadnezzar may have said, "avenues of Babylon (and Borsippa) I caused to be made, and I cleansed, or kept clean." In a future chapter I will give reasons for assigning to זכן the primary sense of "cleansing." It does not appear to me that the spelling of *isret* is inconsistent with its derivation from *isar*. So far as I have observed *ìs* is preferentially used when a word begins with a radical letter, and when it begins with a servile *i*. In the Assyrian text, and in one of the Babylonian ones, the word begins with ; in the other Babylonian one the first syllable is expressed by *e.ìs*, which, however, may have only meant that the initial *i* was very long, and which, on the authority of the other two passages, we may safely pronounce to be bad spelling. I do not recollect any place in which *et* occurs as a formative of the feminine plural, which is inconsistent with the theory which I have here proposed. Nevertheless, I am far from having the same confidence in it as I have in my other statements. I can only say that if the difference between *et* and *ât* be not

what I have suggested, I am quite unable to explain what that difference is.

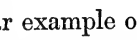
39. A very common form of the Assyrian plural remains to be spoken of, namely, that in which no syllable is added to form it, but the plural cases are either the same as the singular, or modifications of the singular forms. The distinction between the two numbers is indeed sometimes made by a change of case, as will be shown in the following chapter; but even this is often not to be perceived, and the context becomes our only guide. I will first give examples in which the singular and plural are identical.

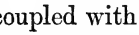
40. As this identity of the singular and plural is what most persons would consider very improbable, it is necessary to give some very clear instances of it. I do not rely on such a passage as *'i.lu.ti.su.nu*, "of their godships," already quoted in § 28. In fact, *'iluti* is here singular; derived nouns in *ut* not admitting a plural. In 15 I. 106, 113, it occurs joined to an adjective in the feminine singular. Neither do I rely on *lib.bi.k'u.un*, "your hearts," 9 I. 19, though I have myself no doubt that *libbi* is here plural, because words which are certainly singular occur elsewhere, accompanied by plural affixes. I will, however, bring forward clear instances of plurals, the same as the singular, accompanied by plural adjectives.

41. In 152 B. 2, 1, we have *ṣuk.ki nak.lu.ti*, which I would translate "well-built houses;" but whatever be the exact translation, it is clear that *ṣukki* is here used as a plural, and equally clear that it is the second case of the singular. Again, we have in 41 B. 57, *mal.ki la.bi.ru.ti*, "ancient kings," another example that cannot be contested. And so in 41 I. 74, *s'u.u.ri ma.ru.ti*, "fatted oxen;" in 144 B. 10, 11, *yu.me ma.'h.du.ti*, "many days."

42. In other cases forms identical with the singular are substituted for the theme with a plural sign. Thus in 38 B. 67, we have  for "gates;" in another copy of the same inscription, 50 B. 74, *ba.bi* is substituted. This noun

admits also a plural in *at*. We have in 39 L. 22, *ba.ba.ʿa.ti*. Variations of this sort occur in almost all languages; and there does not appear to me to be any difference in the use of these plurals, so that one could be called definite and the other indefinite.

43. A similar example occurs as to  , *ba.tul*, with the determinative of males prefixed, and the plural sign added, 21 I. 43; in 22 I. 109, *ba.tu.li*, with the same determinative, but without the plural sign, is substituted. To both of these words is added *ba.tu.la.ti* with the determinative of females prefixed. The meaning is obviously "pure boys" and "pure girls." Other instances occur in which two nouns are coupled together, one of which is evidently plural from its form, while the two are evidently in the same number. Even if the passage 21 I. 43 did not exist, we might infer that *ba.tu.li* in 22 I. 109 was plural, from its being coupled with *ba.tu.la.ti*, which is manifestly so.

44. The same principle applied to the formula "oxen" and "sheep" gives us two more plurals of this sort. In 67 II. 41 we have , the monogram for an ox, followed by , the plural sign, and  , *ù*, the copulative conjunction; then comes *ẓ'e.e.ne*, "sheep," which the context proves to be a plural. In 41 I. 82 we have, in place of this, *rag.ge ù ẓe.ne*, and in E.I.H. 2. 28 *r'a.ag.ga ù ẓ'e.e.nim*. The construction, it will be observed, in the last two passages, is different. Surely, it is a fair inference that *raggi* is plural as well as *ẓ'e.e.ni*. I am rather disposed to draw a further inference, namely, that *ʿalap*, which corresponds to , was only used in the singular number, and that *raggu* was used as its plural. On this question, however, I do not think that I have evidence which warrants a *positive* opinion.

45. The above examples, to which might be added many others, must, I think, satisfy every one that the Assyrians had a plural of the same form with the singular; though there was some slight difference in the use of the cases. I now proceed to consider plurals which are modifications of the singular, not identical with it. The principle of these

modifications is that in dissyllables, the last of which is not lengthened by a quiescent letter, the singular inclines to have the accent on the former syllable, and the plural on the latter. Monosyllabic themes admit no such modification; nor those in which, the middle radical being weak and the two vowels the same, they coalesce in the declension into one, as צִין, *ẓi'in*, whence *ẓenu*. Nor again is this distinction possible where the last vowel of the theme is necessarily long, as in *batul*, § 43.

46. As a general rule, however, such a noun as *pigil* would add its case-ending, in the singular to *pigil* with the accent on the first syllable, and would thus form *piglu*, etc., with the second vowel suppressed; while the plural would retain the second vowel; and would perhaps admit also another change consequent on this. For example *nakru* is used for "an enemy," but *nakiri* for "of the enemies," the theme being *nakir*.

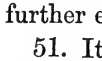
47. I have spoken of this distinction being rendered more marked by another change consequent on this. The Assyrians were accustomed to double the consonant of an accented syllable. This is the reason why the second radical is commonly doubled in the present of the first conjugation, as in *i.qab.bi*, "he says," and numerous other instances, which must not be supposed to be Pihel forms. In conformity with this usage the last consonant of the noun is often doubled in the plural. Thus, in 43 I. 43, we have *sal.gu na.ḫal.lim*, "the snows of the valleys;" while in the parallel text, 40 I. 77, we have *na.'ḫ.li*, "of the valley."

48. Where the first radical was a very weak one, that admitted of being altogether dropped, it was, I think, dropped in plurals of this kind. Instances of this are neceesarily rare; and I am not sure that there are sufficient to establish the usage. I remark, however, that in the same nouns that could drop the initial syllable in the plural, that syllable is dropped in the singular when the noun is in what Hebrew grammarians call the state of construction. It may have appeared strange that I have spoken of the noun, when without a case-ending, as the theme and not as the construct form. I have done this

advisedly. It will be seen in the following chapter that the second case is repeatedly used,—almost, if not quite, as often as the theme,—where the Hebrews would use the construct form; and it will be seen also that the theme is repeatedly used where the Hebrews would use the absolute form. If I were, therefore, to give the name of construct form to the theme, I should be using a term that would certainly mislead. I think, however, that the theme was in some instances pronounced differently when it did and when it did not indicate a state of construction; that the theme pigil, for instance, was pronounced pigíl when in construction, and pígil when not so; and I think that, consequent upon this difference, when the first radical was so weak that the first syllable might be dropped, it was dropped when the noun was in construction.

49. Taking, then, *ʿagal* or *ʿagil* as a type of such a noun as I have described, I think we should have for the theme when absolute *ʿágal* or *ʿágil*; for the theme in construction, *gal* or *gil*; for the first case of the singular, *ʿaglu*; and for the first case of the plural, *galu* or *gilu*. Such is the conclusion at which I have arrived by induction; but I give it doubtingly; the examples being few, and what others would probably explain differently from what I do. I think there are three nouns following this type which occur with and without the initial syllable, namely, those which signify "a son," "a servant," and "a bull." From the first we have *ʿa.b'i.il.su*, "his son," E. I. H. 1. 33; *ʿab.lam*, "son," 51 I. No. 1, 2. 16, in one of the copies, the other having the usual monogram for "son." Without the initial syllable we have, I think, *ba.lu.sa*, "her sons," in 66 II. 5. It must be owned, however, that this passage is obscure; and others would interpret it otherwise. On Hebrew and Greek transcriptions but little reliance can be placed, so far as the vowels are concerned; but I am disposed to take "Baladan" as authority for the theme being *ʿabal* as well as *ʿabil*.

50. As respects the second noun, we have in 95 B. 6, *ʿar.du* for "servant," before *kan.su*, "obedient," where 145 B. 24 has the monogram ; also in 10 II. 15 *l.* we have *ʿar.da*, "a servant," in the third case. On the other hand, in 1 L. 1,

we have, I think (but I admit that there is no positive proof, and others take it differently), *rid* for "servant of (Assur)." As for the third word, *r'i.i.mu* is given in Porter's transcript of portions of the E. I. H. inscription as the equivalent of  , 3. 59. This group certainly signifies "bulls." On the other hand, *'ar.mi* is a singular noun in the second case, denoting some male animal; and it appears to me probable that it is the singular of the other word. A fourth example may perhaps be the plural *ni.si* from *anis*, see § 57. This is a case in which the few examples bearing on the question appear to throw light on one another. Without, therefore, maintaining that the positions advanced in the last three sections are established, I think that they are highly probable; and I state them here in order that they may be tested by further examples, should such occur.

51. It remains for me to speak of the dual number of nouns; but here again I confess that I can only speak doubtingly. It appears to me that a dual theme in *a*, formed precisely as the third case of the singular, must be admitted to exist. I have only met with it, however, in a few nouns; *qa.ta*, "hands," (where the *t* is radical, for we have the plurals *qa.ta.tu*, *qa.ta.te* in 6 II. 40, 41), *se.pa*, "feet," *bir.ka*, "knees," and perhaps *ma.ta* or *ma.da*, "peoples." I once thought that a distinction might be established between the second case of the dual and that of the plural; but I rather think now that such is not the case.

Appendix on the possessive pronominal affixes.

52. It has been necessary in several places to assume a knowledge on the part of the reader of the possessive pronominal affixes attached to nouns. A complete knowledge of these affixes is essential to a grammatical knowledge of the inflexions of nouns; and I believe that no complete and correct list of them has yet been published. I will therefore endeavour to supply the deficiency in the following sections.

53. The affixes attached to the case endings are always

expressed by the addition of one or two characters to those which express the noun. They are the following:

1. s. *'a*; instead of which we find more commonly after the second case *ya*, "my."
2. s.m. *ka*, and f. *ki*, "thy."
3. s.m. or *su*, "his," f. or *sa*, "her."
1. p. *ni*, "our."
2. p.m. *ku.nu*; f. *ki.na*, "your."
3. p.m. *su.nu* or *s'u.un*; f. *si.na* or *s'i.in*, "their."

is used for the affix of the 3. p. of both genders; it is interchanged with *s'u.un*, cf. 164 B. 23 and 165 B. 17; and with *s'i.in*, cf. 38 B. 69 and 46 B. 76.

54. The affix of the 3 s.m. after an unaccented *u* is often shortened to *s*; this happens most commonly after the feminine first case *tu*; and the *tus* is then expressed by .

On the other hand, after an accented *u*, an additional character is generally introduced after the first case, as it would be written without the affix. This character is or before *'a*, the affix of the first person singular (which, however, is not to be read as an additional syllable) and before those of the second and third persons *uk* and *us* respectively. Before the affix of the first person plural I should from analogy expect *un*, but I have as yet met with no example of it.

55. Although this reduplication, which may be compared with that of § 48, may be used after the *u* of the first case whenever it is not preceded by a *t*, formative of the feminine; there are some words, after which it occurs, which should be particularly noticed. Such are the prepositions, *kirbu*, "within," *ziru*, "upon," and *panu*, "before," which are used before pronominal affixes in place of the *kirib*, *zir*, and *pan*, which are used before nouns. Examples are *zi.r'u.u'a*, "upon me," 41 I. 45; *pan.uk.ki*, "before thee (f.)," 66 II. 2. 7, 8; in a similar inscription addressed to Nebo, 85 L. 15, *pan.uk.ka*;

k'i.ir.b'u.us.sa, "within it," E. I. H. 10, 12; *ṣi.r'u.us.su.un,* "upon them," 39 I. 78. Such also is the noun of non-existence *yanu,* whence *ya.n'u.u'a,* "I am not," 42 II. 14 *r.*; and in the two preceding lines, *ya.n'uk.ka,* "thou art not," *ya.n'u.us.su,* "he is not." I may also notice *ki.bi.t'u.uk.ka,* "it is thy will" or "in pursuance of thy will," E. I. H. 10, 1; *ki.bi.tus.su,* "in pursuance of his will," 16 B. 141. The *t* of this word is radical. I think it is invariably used of the divine will, which was not to be resisted.

56. The affixes annexed to the theme are the same as those annexed to the case endings, except for the first person singular; and for the third person in all its forms, when the theme ends in a dental or sibilant. In the last case, *ṣ* is substituted for *s* in the affix; the preceding consonant being sometimes retained, sometimes omitted, but most frequently changed into another *ṣ*. That is to say, the affixes of the third person given above can never follow , , , , , , , , or ; or any character, the value of which terminates with any of these; but after these letters is substituted for , for , and for . Examples are *ḥi.r'i.it.ṣu,* "its ditch," E.I.H. 6. 60, or *ḥi.ri.ṣu,* 65, I. 2. 7, or *ḥi.r'i.is.ṣu.* E.I.H. 6. 30. All these are used in parallel texts, and are evidently equivalent. The last of the three forms is, however, the commonest. Other examples are *ru.pu.uṣ.ṣu,* "its breadth," from *rupus,* 7 I.F. 23; *e.pi.ṣu.un,* "their work," from *epis,* 132 B. 18. It is needless to multiply them, as they are everywhere to be met with. To the rule here laid down there are no exceptions; and the student, if he thinks that he sees it violated, may be quite sure that he is mistaken as to his reading of the text.

57. The affix of the first person attached to a theme which ends in a consonant is generally *i*; sometimes *a* is substituted, but only, I believe, in Babylonian inscriptions. Examples are *'a.ba,* "my father," E. I. H. 7, 48; *b'i.e.la,* "my lord," 66 I. 18. This affix, whether *i* or *a,* is not represented by a separate character, but by a change of the last

character of the theme, which, with this affix, is the same as the second or third case. Examples are very numerous; but they appear to have been overlooked, or set down as mistakes, by others. I will give a very few out of a long list. In 151 B. 16, Sargon says, *ʿak.zu.ra ʿus.ma.ni*, "I prepared my camp." Five lines after, speaking of his enemy, he says, *ik.zu.ra ʿus.m'a.an.su*, "he prepared his camp." These translations may be only approximate; but there can be no doubt as to the "I," "my," "he," and "his." Again, *b'i.in.ti ʿad.din.su*, 145 B. 18, is, "my daughter I gave to him;" *ʿu.s'a.az.bil ra.ma.ni*, 49 I. 4, 11, is, "I caused myself to carry." Both these texts are correct as they stand; and the *emendations* that have been proposed would render them the contrary. We have also *qa.ti* for "my hand," 10 I. 98; *mu.ti*, "my husband, 10 II. 4 *l*, *ʿas.sa.ti*, "my wife," do. 10 *l*. This last is for *an.sa.ti*, the feminine theme of *anis*, "a man," from which I derive the plural *ni.si* mentioned in § 50. All these nouns occur with other affixes, *qa.aṣ.ṣu*, "his hand," 49 B. 32, *m'u.uṣ.ṣu*, "her husband, 10 II. 2 *l*.; and *ʿas.sa.ti.su*, "to his wife," do. 9 *l*.

58. The use of *ṣu* for "her" in this ancient text must not be passed over. We have also *ʿat.ta* for "thou (woman);" do. 10 *l*. This fragment of the ancient laws of Assyria is probably the oldest text in the language that we possess. The tablet, indeed, is not older than the seventh century B.C.; but it is a transcript of one of the highest antiquity. Now, it is very remarkable that, in the Hebrew Pentateuch, the masculine pronoun of the third person singular is often used for the feminine; that is to say, if we go by the written letters and neglect the Qeri and vowel points. The distinction between the pronouns of the second person, masculine, and feminine is also in several places only made in the vowel points. I think it is a fair inference from this, that in the earliest stage of the language "thou" and "thy," masculine and feminine, had but one representative; and that "his" and "her" were expressed alike, as they were in Latin, and as they still are in the languages derived from it.

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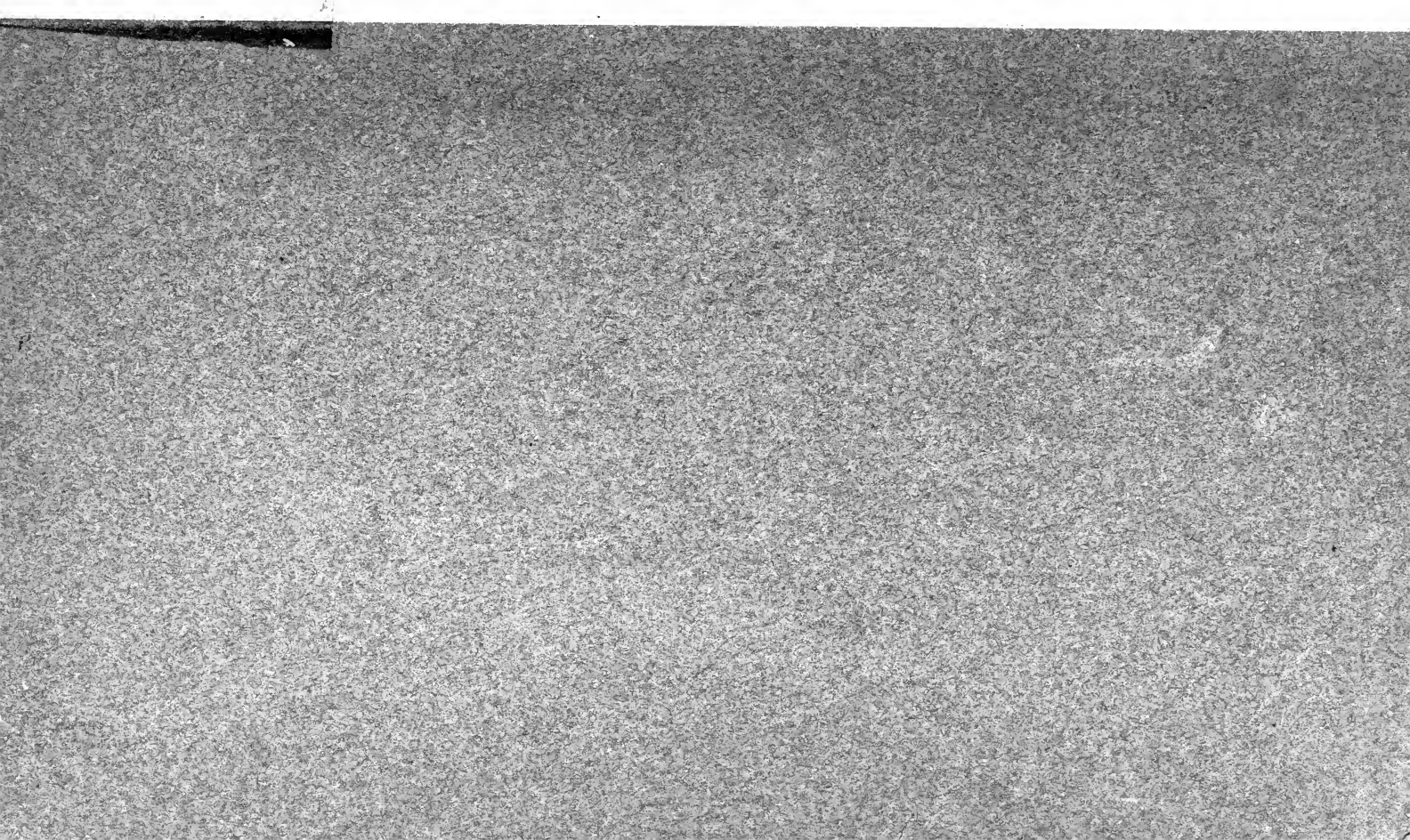
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